

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY RANGOON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1545

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OGEN BM

SUBJ: INTERESTED PARTY TELEGRAM

PROFESSOR JOHN K. FAIRBANK
HISTORY DEPARTMENT
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

I AM CONTEMPLATING RETIREMENT NEXT SPRING, AND HAVE A COUPLE OF RESEARCH PROJECTS I WOULD LIKE TO PURSUE, PARTICULARLY IF I CAN GET A GRANT. THE FIRST PROJECT CONCERNS THE PRC'S ANTI-REVISIONIST STRATEGY, A PATTERN OF EVENTS WHICH INCLUDES NOT ONLY THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, BUT ALSO THE RIGHTIST CAMPAIGNS OF 1974 AND 1976. TOO MANY PEOPLE, I FEEL, HAVE ANALYSED THE RECENT CAMPAIGNS WITHIN A TACITLY ASSUMED CONCEPTUAL MODEL IN WHICH TWO PARTIES ARE ENGAGED IN A WINNER-TAKE-ALL BATTLE FOR SUCCESSION, FOR CONTROL OF THE MACHINERY OF STATE. THIS SIMPLE MODEL SEEMS TO ME INADEQUATE. THERE IS, OF COURSE, A SUCCESSION PROBLEM, THERE ARE RIGHTISTS AND LEFTISTS, AND THERE IS GENUINE CONTENTION BETWEEN THEM, BUT THE CONTENTION TAKES PLACE WITHIN A BROAD, LARGELY UNWRITTEN, "CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF WHICH THE DOCTRINE OF CONTINUING REVOLUTION IS AN IMPORTANT ASPECT. WHAT HAPPENS TO THE FRAMEWORK MAY BE AS SIGNIFICANT AS WHAT TRANSPIRES WITHIN IT. I WANT TO TRACE THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS MAOIST "CONSTITUTIONAL" FRAMEWORK, PARTICULARLY SINCE AROUND THE TIME OF THE TENTH PARTY CONGRESS, AS A BASIS FOR PREDICTING ITS FUTURE. WILL IT WORK AS A MEANS OF PREVENTING REVISIONISM? IF IT DOES NOT WORK (AS I AM NOW INCLINED TO PREDICT), WILL THIS MEAN THE END OF "MAOISM", AND WILL THE END OF MAOISM OPEN THE WAY FOR A DEGREE OF SINO-SOVIET RAPPROCHMENT?

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HOW WILL THIS AFFECT PREVIOUS

RELATIONS?

A SECOND PROJECT, OR REALLY SET OF PROJECTS, INVOLVES A STUDY OF THE APPLICATION OF TECHNIQUES OF QUANTIFICATION TO FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS. I WOULD PLAN TO USE AS A STARTING POINT BOTH MY EXPERIENCE IN PROGRAMMING EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE (RESOURCE ALLOCATION) AS WELL AS MY EXPERIENCE IN SUCH SUBSTANTIVE DECISION AREAS AS THE "ONE CHINA POLICY" CONTROVERSY, THE PRC DECISION TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH THE U.S., AND JAPAN'S DEFENSE POLICY. EMPHASIS WOULD NOT BE AS MUCH ON THE MATHEMATICAL TECHNICAL ASPECTS AS ON THE CONCEPTUAL PROBLEMS OF USING VALUE JUDGMENTS IN SUCH CALCULATIONS.

WITHOUT ANY COMMITMENT ON YOUR PART, COULD YOU GIVE ME YOUR OPINION WHETHER THESE PROJECTS ARE WORTH PURSUING, AND HOW DIFFICULT IT WOULD BE TO GET A GRANT, AS WELL AS THE ORDER OF MAGNITUDE OF SUCH GRANTS. WOULD A GRANT COVER THE COSTS OF LIVING NEAR A UNIVERSITY WITH THE REQUISITE LIBRARY FACILITIES? I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR REPLYING VIA THIS SAME CHANNEL, (I.E., AN "INTERESTED PARTY" TELEGRAM VIA THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE); I HAVE PREPAID COST OF REPLY, WITH NO WORD LIMIT. DAVID L. OSBORN
INTERESTED PARTY REPLY AUTHORIZED
OSBORN

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED ABOVE ADDRESSEE.

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